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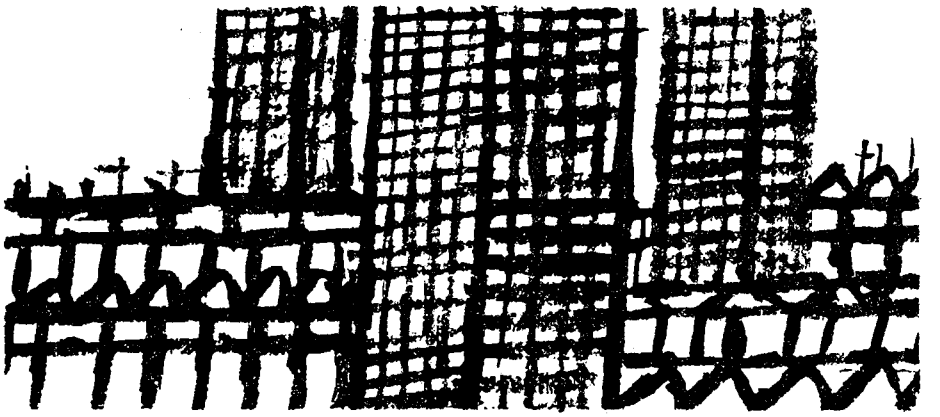

SLUM HOUSING

Doing something about the war on slums

Herbert J. Gans

DEATH OF A REBEL PRIEST

Alexander W. Wilde

BOB KENNEDY'S FUTURE

William V. Shannon

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Our heart goes out these days to Vice President Humphrey. The conservatives will never forget his ideas for social spending; the liberals won't forget his current Vietnam performance. He faced a hostile crowd over at the *Christianity and Crisis* anniversary dinner in New York—a hallful of liberals, most of them pre-Vietnam Humphrey fans. As Dr. John C. Bennett delicately put it in his introduction, "Today we think of him less as Vice President than as Hubert Humphrey."

Hannah Arendt sat across from us, smoking Sweet Caporals and wearing a fixed expression of disbelief—a representative response to the talk. On one side sat a Secret Service man who amiably explained how he had mashed an Australian student who wandered too close to Humphrey on his tour. ("If you're going to hit somebody, you have to do it hard; you don't want to get into a brawl.") The Vice President gave a brave speech, but we thought it banal and somewhat plaintive. He buttressed his argument with philosophical and political ideas of Reinhold Niebuhr, neglecting to add that Niebuhr strongly opposes the war. It was the rhetoric, however, that surprised us most, full of jarring superlatives and sentimental embellishments, reminding us how good JFK was in avoiding all this. The Administration's most vulnerable statements on Vietnam have come from Rusk and Humphrey—Rusk because of his credibility problem, Humphrey because of his rhetoric. "The King's man," Murray Kempton calls him. Our suspicion is that come 1972, when the next anointing rolls around, Humphrey may look more like a loyal retainer than a king.

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Two swallows that made a spring: America magazine's column on the Catholic press, after noting that a survey of 40 diocesan papers turned up only two editorials supporting Fr. Gommar DePauw's right to be heard (and only five other editorials saying anything at all about the case) concluded as follows: "All in all, these varied comments on the Catholic Traditionalist Movement reveal a truth that transcends even the points of view they were expressing. It is this: the diocesan newsweeklies, by and large, are wholeheartedly and intelligently geared to the *aggiornamento*. They believe in and exemplify the ideal of free discussion, without which we would return to yesterday in the Church." Uh-huh.

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Freedom and Notre Dame: Father DePauw, after a recent lurch westward, said he was denied permission to speak on the Notre Dame campus, refused the right to rent an off-campus lecture hall (it turned out to be owned by the local Catholic diocese), and was asked to leave a motel because he is "too controversial." It occurs to us that he possesses an uncanny knack for bringing out the worst in everyone he deals with.

•

Cosmopolitan magazine, which Helen Gurley Brown has revived by turning it into a female *Playboy*, ran a recent article on "What It's Like to Be a Jewish Girl." The response was so great that the current (March) issue does the same for (or to) Catholics. Here are excerpts from "What It's Like to Be a Catholic Girl," by Joan Walsh:

"The first thing to remember about the Catholic girl is her sense of moral superiority. This is her most definitive private attribute, and the most irritating one. Taught from infancy that life is hard and the devil rampant, she looks to virtue for its own reward. Alas, it so infrequently is. So she clusters with other Catholics for support—and for communication. Nobody else speaks her special language—*novena, triduum, spiritual bouquet*. . . . Proceeding from the Catholic girls' clannish line of reasoning come such marvels of ingenuity (and apartheid) as the Catholic Ladies Auxiliary of the Catholic War Veterans of Sidestep, New Jersey.

"This absolutely rocklike sense of identity that the Catholic girl projects is more than likely inbred by sixteen consecutive years of parochial education, the last eight segregated—the boys against the girls, I hasten to add. Taught by nuns, priests or certifiably proper laymen, she experienced no teach-ins at her school, no riots, no protests of any sort. (It has only been in the last year or so that Catholic students—boys or girls—have taken strong stands on *anything* secular.) Having equated apathy with meekness, meekness with goodness at an early age, it is easy to see why the Catholic girl can fade quietly into the background. . . .

"From feeling a little bit *different*, it was easy for the Catholic girl to take the next step to feeling a little bit better. Some part of this feeling of exclusivity came from Catholic schooling, with its emphasis on obedience, but just as much came from living a ghetto life. Growing up among people, who *all* professed belief in the same things, who were regular churchgoers, whose friends were all Catholic, the girl became noncompetitive. Why? Because *all* the questions were answered. . . ."

"Not many Catholic girls are good conversationalists. They rarely discuss politics, sex or world events among themselves and they are too self-righteous to gossip well. They gossip a lot but they usually don't know the interesting people whose antics make gossip a delight. . . . Catholic girls marry Catholic boys who are lawyers, insurance salesmen or other decent, solid types who disappear into giant corporations like water in a sponge. Want to know what FBI agents do on their days off? They marry Catholic girls. . . .

"Even when sorely put upon, a Catholic working girl will work harder or blame herself rather than quit. If pushed to the wall, she might pray that the boss sees the error of his ways. Employers know this. One woman executive admitted to me that she tried to hire as many Catholics as possible for her department. 'Much less trouble,' was the way she put it. . . ."

JOHN LEO

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CORRESPONDENCE

"In Cold Blood"

Reading, Pa.

To the Editors: I was dismayed by Bernard McCabe's reaction (February 11) to *In Cold Blood*—his regarding it as the literary counterpart of a street accident, where a crowd gathers with horrified but hungry eyes.

"Nothing and nobody is spared," says Mr. McCabe, and certainly *we* are not spared the terrible complexity here—the evils in the childhood of Perry, and the less traceable evil within Dick, that grow to the proportion of an entire family's death. The magnitude of the six deaths is achieved by the presentation of the individual details of the six characters' lives. I get the impression Mr. McCabe would not trust these details in any form, but they are precisely what make the case and its importance relive, and surely the art of Capote has given a perspective, set them above the rawness of the street.

One might, I suppose, find *In Cold Blood* "an invitation to gloat," just as one might find *Lady Chatterley's Lover* obscene, but I think that time and the majority will hold that Capote's book is no more sensationalism than is Lawrence's pornography. JOHN LANGAN

The Delano Strike

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: In his article on the Delano (Calif.) grape strike (Dec, 24, 1965), Michael Novak correctly observed that the "establishment" in the area regards the strike—by far the longest in California labor history—not as a blow struck for the cause of social justice but only a social disturbance instigated by "outside agitation." As a priest who spent four days of his own free time at the strike scene—two days in September and two days in December—I thought your readers might be interested in some amplification of Mr. Novak's article.

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DETROIT ROULETTE

In this statistic-ridden culture, figures lose their ability to shock. Let's look at some of the numbers on auto accidents to see how shockable we still are. Last year 49,000 Americans died on the highways. This is 25 times the total of American deaths in Vietnam and nearly 200 times the number of deaths in air accidents. And the number is rising. In 1965 we killed four percent more on the highways than in 1964. We also mangled or otherwise injured 3.6 million, a number equivalent to the population of Chicago. Half of the victims were disabled, a figure equal to the grand total of hospital beds in the United States.

Traffic accidents are the number one cause of death among children (1 to 14 years old) and among adolescents and young adults (15 to 25). In the latter category, all diseases combined did not come close to killing as many as the automobile.

The National Safety Council, a creature of the auto industry, laments all this, but focuses attention upon the drivers. Others, a bit more disengaged from the industry, focus their gaze on the car itself. According to the estimate of the U.S. Public Health Service, 43 percent of those who die in auto accidents die under survivable conditions, and many of these deaths could be prevented by simple reconstruction of the vehicle. But Detroit is interested in chrome, not safety. It has fought tooth and nail against the introduction of every valuable safety innovation, and is still doing so. Twenty years ago, top auto officials mocked the safety belt and assured us it would be of no value whatever. Yet disinterested estimates for 1964 claim that about 750 deaths were prevented by the use of the belts, and that about 5,000 could have been saved if everyone had safety belts and used them. After his own study, Senator Gaylord Nelson said that with just one of the safety features which Detroit resists—protection for the driver's head, mainly through protective padding around the dashboard—one in five of our auto deaths could be avoided.

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The litany of what Detroit could do if it were interested in the problem is endless: safety wheels to prevent tires from spinning off, cornering lights, wrap-around head- and tail-lights for better visibility, an end to "hardtops" and x-frames, a dual braking system, safety latches, safety glass all around, a clean-up of dashboards with projecting dials and knobs that scrape faces and gouge eyes in crashes. But the biggest menaces are brakes and tires. Both are lethally inadequate, as government analysts and auto magazines have been pointing out. The English weekly *Motor* says about the Oldsmobile Toronado: "There is surely something drastically wrong with a policy that permits a 130-mph car to leave the production line with brakes that are inadequate for speeds above 70 mph."

The tire situation is far worse. A senior engineer for a major tire company recently testified in court that a tire overload of as little as 10 percent would make the tire vulnerable to fabric separation. (By Tire and Rim Association standards, a car loaded with six 150-pound adults and no luggage was 46 percent overloaded.) At a government hearing last year, top officials of the tire industry testified that many new cars leave the showroom with tires dangerously overloaded—even without the weight of passengers or luggage.

One manufacturer said the tires provided on its nine-passenger station-wagon would be safe for a full load up to 1300 pounds, provided that the rear tires were inflated to *36 pounds pressure*. Experts advise that pressure that high on a tire designed to carry 24 pounds is extremely dangerous. (In other words, no matter what you do with the tires, you cannot carry a full load without putting your life in jeopardy.) Most new cars are fitted and sold with tires designed and engineered to carry no more than three persons, or two persons and a bit of luggage. The result is not difficult to imagine: about 5,000 Americans die each year because of tire failures.

TORTURE

Atrocities in wartime are almost entirely impossible to discuss. The concocted atrocity stories of World War I vintage conditioned Americans to disbelieve such accusations in the future; and then the future proved they were mistaken in their disbelief: man *was* capable of perpetrating such horrors. The charges of American connivance in the use of torture in Vietnam therefore confuse us. We do not want to believe them, and the fact that they are generally made by advocates of American withdrawal makes us suspicious. On the other hand, we have seen enough violence in our own land—clergymen killed, children bombed, even our President murdered—to secretly suspect that the stories could be true—which is all the more reason to want to forget the whole problem.

Unfortunately, the evidence is too strong to be ignored. A variety of sources, from the New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune* to the Chicago *Daily News* and A.P. Pulitzer Prize winner Malcolm Browne, most of them supporters of the American war effort, have nevertheless reported the same facts: the connection of electrodes from field generators to sensitive parts of the body; beatings, castrations and mutilations; the killing of the wounded and the captured.

The extent of these practices and of American participation in them is difficult to judge. The evidence suggests they are neither rare nor are U.S. soldiers uninvolved. American military equipment is being employed in these tortures; and at least in some parts of the military it appears to be regular, if not even semi-official, practice to turn prisoners over to the South Vietnamese expressly for the purpose of interrogation-by-torture. The Special Forces present a particularly disturbing picture. They are beginning to display the same *mystique* of "toughness"; the same fascination with the psychological and sociological potentialities of violence; the same interest in and growing admiration of the enemy's techniques, which characterized (and brutalized) the French paratroopers in Vietnam and Algeria.

With only a minimum of ingenuity, one can find ways to excuse such brutality in wartime. The U.S. cannot control the South Vietnamese. Getting information about Vietcong movements is a matter of life or death. Besides, the Vietcong do it too. . . . But this won't wash, and we know it. Morality is more than a function of necessity. The situation may be dangerous; the enemy ruthless. But our actions are our own—including actions of supporting, encouraging, or even passively allowing torture by South Vietnamese forces.

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The issue of torture is not the crucial one for determining the legitimacy of American presence in Southeast Asia. Nor does torture cause as much suffering and so widely afflict the innocent as American air raids. But this is beside the point. Torture is simply a moral issue in itself, and a most serious one for this nation. A Congressional committee or an impartial panel of outstanding citizens, representing all opinions on the war itself, should investigate these charges. Let us have this sore lanced at once.

ABORTION LAWS

For several years now, one state after the other has seen the introduction of bills designed to liberalize old abortion laws. These efforts have usually come to nothing, primarily because of Catholic opposition. Yet the efforts for change continue, and the prospect of their eventual success has become greater with every passing year. The reason for this likely outcome seems fairly clear—a majority of Americans would probably favor a change. A recent nationwide survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago revealed that 71 percent of those polled would allow legal abortion when a woman's health would be endangered by a pregnancy. Sixty-eight percent of the Catholic men and fifty-eight percent of the Catholic women polled agreed with this position. Statistics of this kind, combined with legal and medical pressures, provide relatively little hope that some new laws can be avoided.

The arguments for change are formidable. An estimated 850,000-1,200,000 illegal abortions are performed each year, often at considerable medical risk. Some 8-10,000 of these abortions result in death from ensuing complications. Since thousands of women are going to resort to abortions, come what may, why not bring our laws into conformity with existing practice—thus ridding the nation of widespread hypocrisy and protecting women from dangerous operations? So runs the general question and it is not an easy one to answer.

We believe the basis for the Catholic opposition to be as sound as ever: the right to life of a foetus, a right stemming not from man but from God. We also believe that the Catholic community should exert pressure against any major liberalization of state abortion laws. At the same time, the Catholic community would do well to recognize that it has some significant obligations.

There is, first, the obligation not to use undemocratic means in pressing its case, most notably the use of covert pressure to prevent debate in state legislatures. Second, there is the obligation to better develop the theological case against abortion; clearly, many Catholics themselves do not see the force of the traditional arguments. Third, there is an obligation to provide some reasonable, necessarily creative, proposals to lessen the kinds of pressures which lead women to abortion.

Can Catholics, for instance, continue to excessively stigmatize illegitimate births and then act shocked when women seek abortion to avoid the social stigma of such births? Could not Catholics take the lead in pressing for better adoption agencies and procedures, even providing Church money if that is necessary? Could not the Church establish more institutions—far beyond what it is now doing—to care for physically deformed and mentally retarded children?

None of these responses would wholly do away with the problem of unwanted children, nor would they meet the dangers which pregnancy poses to some women. But they would help to undermine at least some of the objections to present laws. Simple opposition to change, with no corresponding effort to alleviate the basic problems, is likely to impress very few people. The case in favor of change is not, in the end, so strong that a meaningful opposition could make no difference. It is getting late, but there is still time.

RELIGION IN RUSSIA

Russian Marxism has not been intellectually interesting since the purges of the twenties and thirties, when the best of the revolutionary generation was liquidated or expelled. Given what has occurred, which is to say the whole Stalinist era and a sort of lumpen liberalism since, this may seem a rather special concern; the failure of the Russian revolution as a libertarian and humanitarian enterprise had consequences that far overshadow questions of intellectual history. Few would deny this. Yet the history remains, as we are beginning to see; and some recent events in the USSR recall that the 1917 upheaval had many roots, including some in the very best of Western social and religious thought. That they were characteristically Russian continues to make developments in the USSR of more than practical interest.

The writers' trial in Moscow last month produced a genuine crisis of conscience in Russia, the likes of which had not been seen in decades. Many young people openly supported the convicted writers' rights to intellectual integrity. It is not surprising, then, that *Izvestia*

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(Feb. 25), as quoted by I. F. Stone, should resurrect Stalin's intellectual henchman, Andrei Zhdanov, as "a true son of the people." It means that the issue is still alive and, regardless of the outcome of the current battle, will not die again easily.

Soviet attitudes and policies toward religion and Russian Orthodoxy are also undergoing reappraisal. This doesn't necessarily signal a reversal of past policies. On the contrary, those responsible for the policies of the past few years are being charged with gross incompetence. The critics argue that the frontal attacks and crude harassments have simply driven many believers underground, without in the least decreasing their numbers. Accompanying this has been a fresh appreciation of the resilience of religion to persecution and of how deeply ingrained Orthodoxy is in the Russian people. The significance of this, we think, is that Russian Marxists are learning something about religion, and that cannot help but be to the good.

Along with Soviet officialdom's new appraisal of religion has come an awakening of interest among Russian intellectuals. For the most part it is a philosophical interest, at best a recognition that there is a spiritual dimension to man that is not fully explained in Marxism. As a result, certain Russian religious writers of the prerevolutionary generation are now enjoying a modest vogue. One of them is Nikolai Berdyaev, the Orthodox theologian and Personalist philosopher, who after his expulsion was influential in the *Esprit* circle in France. Teilhard de Chardin is also being read. In the opinion of one Russian Orthodox scholar, this reawakening of interest in the philosophy of the great humanist-religious thinkers may prove of greater historical significance than the ultimate fate of the Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union. We suspect that, ultimately, the two may be tied together.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BOB KENNEDY'S FUTURE

Like his late brother, Senator Robert F. Kennedy seems likely to go through most of his political career as a much misunderstood man.

It takes a good memory to recall now that as recently as three years before John F. Kennedy's death, there were liberals who could not distinguish him from Richard M. Nixon. "Let's have more courage and less profile" was once a popular cocktail party witticism.

Many people who used to think of John Kennedy in confining stereotypes are repeating their mistake with his brother Robert. Having caricatured him as a sinister McCarthyite and a political thug, they are now doing an about-face and, because of his uneasiness about Vietnam policy, are welcoming him as a dove and a liberal hero.

Catholics should be less prone to make this error of judgment since most of us—leaving aside the special differences created by the Kennedy family's wealth—have grown up in the same cultural milieu as the Kennedy brothers. Economic necessity may have made us bread-and-butter liberals, but much in our background gave us a conservative outlook. We are not ordinarily, for example, automatic cop-haters as many liberals are. How could we be when half our relatives are on the force? We do not instinctively "fight City Hall" or deplore party machines or find political power an alien concept inasmuch as someone named Curley or Daley or DeSapio or Celebrezze is usually in charge there. Urban politics is not *terra incognita* to the ordinary Catholic. Moreover, the hierarchical organization of the Church and the mores of parochial education have tended to imbue a respect for authority and for strong personal leadership.

The Kennedys, despite their money and their Palm Beach address and their Harvard education, come out of the old-fashioned, big city political machines. The object of the game is to conquer power, and all that counts is victory. Whatever that victory requires—money, muscle, dubious allies, blarney—the Kennedys have been willing to throw into the contest. If Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. had to be imported into West Virginia to slander Hubert Humphrey for his lack of a war record or if ancient Charley Buckley of the Bronx had to be publicly succored in his last days in exchange for the delegates he had once produced and might deliver yet again, or if great sums of money had to be expended, they did not scruple to make use of this agent or that ally or those resources. Machine politics have always been family-centered and power-centered; they have not been oriented to issues or to ideals.

But the machines are of the past, and their values are no longer adequate; indeed, they were never wholly adequate on the national level. The Kennedy brothers, like others in the Catholic community that bred them,

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while still making use of the old techniques were also changing and growing. They came, somewhat later than others perhaps, but they did come to a deeper understanding of what is at stake in politics beyond power; to a realization that how one does a thing is as important as the thing itself; to a reasoned conviction that due process and civil liberties and self-restraint are essentials, not luxuries.

John Kennedy, being nearly ten years older, made this transition earlier and since his career is now ended the record of his progress is more visible. I once wrote that he differed from his liberal contemporaries in Washington in the 1940's and early '50's because they arrived with their convictions fully developed while he was still developing his by reasoning and experimentation. He took a certain boyish glee in shopping around for wisdom wherever he could find it, from Herbert Hoover or the CIO, from his isolationist father or his internationalist Harvard friends. No one in retrospect now doubts that the prevailing drift of his thinking and action was along broadly liberal lines. But, of course, the cleavages and ambiguities of experience stayed with him to the end. He was not entirely predictable or all of a piece; he remembered the gritty facts of power while he groped to accomplish his ideals.

"Tough Guy"

Roughly the same elusive, discontinuous, half-hidden intellectual and moral evolution has been underway in the past several years within Robert Kennedy. His brother's assassination speeded the pace of change. Until then, he may have thought of himself primarily in the "tough guy" role: the tackle or blocking back who cleared the way for his glamorous, triple-threat brother who scored the touchdowns and won the applause. Of him, his father is supposed to have said: "Bobby is like me. He's a good hater."

Hating is never enough, but Bob was good at remembering his brother's enemies. Where John always seemed, at least on the surface he turned toward the world, to be friendly and curious and open, Bob seemed a bit dour, more suspicious and wary. Efficiency was another of his practical virtues. He made a most hard-headed, alert, efficient manager of his brother's campaigns.

He started out in Washington in 1953 as a naive McCarthyite; he hated Communism and corruption, and sincerely wanted to help Senator McCarthy clean up those evils. Only gradually and in part did he come to realize that the Senator was not so single-minded as he was. And then in the interim between McCarthy's downfall and death, Bob Kennedy was too loyal and too sentimental to break his personal ties with him. His obtuseness and naivete about McCarthy were a function of his upbringing in his father's house and of his cultural background. His McCarthyism was a passing phase, a mistaken expression of his natural idealism, regrettable but not to be condemned more severely than the transient entanglement with Communism which many young liberals experienced in the '30's.

During the McClellan Committee investigation, Bob Kennedy's aggressive harrying of crooked unionists and their lawyers offended those who recognized that the intensity and absolutism of his moral indignation sometimes made him insensitive to the rights of witnesses. His appointment as Attorney General was, from one perspective, a crude act of nepotism; his brief experience did not justify his becoming the Government's chief lawyer. But John Kennedy's confidence was not misplaced; he proved to be both a valuable counselor on a wide range of issues and an excellent Attorney General.

For Bob Kennedy, as for some other participants, the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 was a decisive experience. The ordeal of that decision scarred and stretched his soul. His recent flurry of statements about Vietnam represents, in part, a romantic attempt to reestablish the detachment and the high seriousness that prevailed during that awesome week. And although the memory of that nuclear confrontation has not made him a "dove," it has strengthened his native wariness and imparted to him some of his late brother's habitual skepticism.

Now that it is he who is the candidate, who is carrying the ball and responding to the crowd, he is endeavoring to acquire the more relaxed, open, and engaging style suitable for a candidate. He is also trying, as his brother did six to eight years ago, to open lines of communication to the liberals of his party and to broaden his support among them. On top of all that, he has the added problem of feeling his way through the Byzantine complexities of New York politics.

His eyes are on the governorship in 1970 and on the Presidency in 1972. But he knows from bitter experience that fate can suddenly alter any man's timetable. Meanwhile, he is still learning, still changing, still growing. He is a much more interesting, sophisticated, and complicated man than he was when he took command of the Justice Department only five years ago. Presumably, he will be somewhat different five years from now. It is much too early to lock him in any stereotype or to use his past to make a definitive judgment about his future.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

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DOING SOMETHING ABOUT SLUMS

The myth of cities beautiful

HERBERT J. GANS

The establishment of the cabinet department of Housing and Urban Development and the President's special Message on Improving the Nation's Cities suggest that the federal government is about to step up its war on slums. Now is a good time, therefore, to review previous efforts in that war, and to suggest the kinds of policies that would make it victorious.

In the past, the elimination of slums was sought through public housing and urban renewal, but neither program has been effective. Waiting lists for public housing are long in many cities, but very few new units are being built; only 60,000 are now authorized by Congress annually. The existing projects have undoubtedly improved physical living conditions, but they have not helped people socially or psychologically. Too often, they were built as huge high rise complexes which are unsuitable for families with small children. Also, they are located in the ghetto and thus increase racial segregation, and by being limited to poor people, they publicly mark their tenants as unworthy. This is reinforced by a variety of regulations which restrict the activities and associations of the tenants, and require them to practice standards of housekeeping and decorum higher than those expected in a luxury apartment house. Finally, in many cities, public housing does not admit the very poorest people, and it excludes families with illegitimate children or delinquent teenagers. This is done partly to prevent political opponents of public housing from attacking it for sheltering "undesirables," but it adds to the tenants' feelings that society considers them less than first-class citizens.

Urban renewal is a more vital program, but in most cities its impact on the low income population has been even more negative than public housing. Slums have been torn down, of course, but too often they have been replaced by high-priced housing which the slum dwellers cannot afford, or by shopping centers and public or semi-public facilities which rarely invite or benefit the poor. This pattern of rebuilding the cleared sites would have been acceptable if it had been preceded by proper relocation of the displaced in decent inexpensive housing, but so far, this has usually not been the case.

Studies made of renewal projects completed during the late 1950's and the early 1960's show clearly that, usually, urban renewal only worsened the lot of the slum dwellers.* Because of the slowdown in public housing, and the absence of other federal programs to construct more low-income units, the net effect of urban renewal was to reduce even more the already scarce supply of good housing that poor people could afford. For this reason, many displaced slum dwellers had to relocate to other slums, and if they were Negroes —as they were in two-thirds of the cases—to overcrowd the ghetto even further. Those who found decent relocation housing—and even those who moved to other slums—usually had to pay higher rents. Many had to

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*These studies are described in my article, "The Failure of Urban Renewal," *Commentary*, April 1965, and in letters in the July and November 1965 issues.

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pay a third or more of their income for shelter, even though because of their poverty and instability of income, they should be paying less than the 20 percent of income usually considered an equitable rent. When clearance destroyed entire neighborhoods, the displaced were also saddled with social and emotional burdens, for they lost institutions that had served them well, and were separated from family members, old friends and long-time neighbors. Storekeepers suffered as well, for relocation payments were inadequate, and about a third are known to have gone out of business. In short, these studies indicate that the slum dwellers were paying high financial, social and emotional costs so that affluent people or institutions, subsidized by generous federal renewal grants, could move onto the cleared sites.

Since 1960, the promiscuous use of the bulldozer has been slowed down, and in some cities, urban renewal has come to a virtual halt. Rehabilitation is now replacing clearance, sometimes without requiring relocation. In most instances, the net effect has been the same as clearance, however, for when rents in rehabilitated dwellings rise, their poor occupants are priced out. Where clearance still takes place, relocation procedures have improved, but in cities where there is a shortage of inexpensive housing and where Negroes are restricted to the ghetto, it is doubtful that the improvement in procedures has helped the displaced slum dwellers. The 221(d)(3) program for building low-cost housing and the recently passed but not yet funded rent supplement legislation will make it possible to create more relocation housing, but both programs are new and small in scale. Thus, urban renewal is not improving the living conditions of the slum dwellers, and in too many cities, it is still making them worse.

The Problem of Low Income

Even so, an urban renewal program with adequate relocation provisions would not resolve the main problems of the low-income population. Studies among people moved from slums into public housing projects indicate that they benefit only minimally from the move. New units improve their housing conditions, of course, and raise their morale a little, but they do not reduce their poverty or the deprivations and pathologies associated with it. The fact is that housing schemes can do little to help the poor, and the real need is for effective anti-poverty programs to allow the low-income population to share in the rights and opportunities of their more affluent neighbors. Such programs can be carried out in conjunction with improved renewal and other housing activities, but they are much more urgent than efforts to improve the physical environment.

There are several reasons for this conclusion. First, it should be obvious that giving a poor person good housing does not eliminate his poverty, whereas removing his poverty enables him to obtain good housing and the other attributes of the American standard of living. Second, two decades of experience with public housing suggest that constructing housing specifically for poor people publicly stigmatizes them as disadvantaged, and reduces further their dignity and their ability to live as they choose. In a democratic society, which stresses freedom of choice, federal housing policy ought to improve the economic and social conditions of the disadvantaged so as to enable them like all other Americans to select the housing they want and can afford.

Third, it can be shown that effective anti-poverty programs will do more in the long run to improve the physical environment than urban renewal and other housing and planning efforts. If one runs through the catalogue of urban problems, it is apparent that most of these problems are not caused by the city and its physical environment, but by poverty and racial discrimination. Slums and the pathological social conditions within them are not the result of the aging or deterioration of housing, for when there is demand for such housing from affluent buyers, it is quickly turned into middle- and upper-income dwellings. Rather, slums come into being when poor and non-white people cannot afford to participate equitably in the housing market and are forced to overcrowd buildings and areas, thus creating blighted conditions.

Likewise, downtown retail districts are running down because poor people who live near them cannot afford to shop in their stores. Urban schools are poor because they have not yet learned how to teach children from deprived homes, and because they lack the funds to establish the smaller classes and hire the kinds of teachers needed. Municipal services generally are of low quality because tax revenues have declined as the result of the middle class exodus. Drug addiction and other pathologies are not produced by the city's physical environment, but by the lack of opportunity and hope in the lives of the poverty-stricken. In short, the physical and social deterioration of the city can be traced largely to the effects of poverty and discrimination.

Over the past decade, cities have attempted to cope with this deterioration through urban renewal, downtown modernization, and by other development schemes

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intended to bring back the middle class to the city proper and to increase municipal revenues. These efforts are likely to fail, for physical methods of dealing with social problems always fail, as do solutions which do not attack the root causes of these problems. The attractions of suburbia are too strong to bring significant numbers of the middle class back to the city, and indeed, studies of people's residential aspirations indicate that yet more want to go to the suburbs. The stores which have moved out to serve the new suburbanites will not come back either, and nor will industry, which needs larger and more adequately located sites than the city can provide. Thus, the present residential and commercial renewal plans cannot stop the further deterioration of the city.

If the sources of the city's problems are principally those of poverty and racial discrimination, the best solution is to eliminate both these evils. When poor people can afford to live in decent houses and decent neighborhoods, they will also be able to afford and want a decent city. Indeed, they will want very much the same kind of city which planners and architects are now seeking to achieve through policies of environmental improvement alone. Consequently, the best way of improving the physical environment is to bring the living conditions of the poor up to the American standard. This requires a comprehensive anti-poverty program, complemented by an equally comprehensive urban rehousing program that is specifically designed to support the anti-poverty effort. This effort must include the programs I described in detail in my article on the Negro family in the October 15 issue of COMMONWEAL: the abolition of unemployment, the provision of higher and more dignified forms of income subsidy to those unable to work, the improvement of educational and other public services, and the elimination of racial segregation in all institutions.

An effective anti-poverty program should also include the improvement of the physical environment *for the low-income population.* I underline these words because any schemes for environmental change that do not help this population are useless, and even harmful, because they only increase the constantly widening gap between the poor and the affluent. Unfortunately, most present planning programs have this effect. For example, the construction of expressways helps the suburbanite and the car-owning city dweller, but not the low-income population which relies on mass transit. Civic or cultural centers benefit the middle classes who make use of such facilities, but they are almost entirely irrelevant to the poor. Similarly, industrial parks provide jobs mainly for highly skilled workers; the non-white, low-income population works more often in loft industries which are now frequently condemned as slums and are torn down without adequate relocation provisions.

Priorities

More generally, I do not think we can argue, as we have in the past, that if poor people have to live in overcrowded slums, one way of improving their condition is to give them a beautiful city or more open space as a substitute for decent housing. They may want a beautiful city as much as everyone else, but given their poverty many other improvements are of much higher priority. People who are too poor to shop downtown are not impressed by shopping malls, and people who see city hall as a source of deprivation do not appreciate an award-winning new civic center. More open space is also of low priority, particularly if it would require the clearance of yet more inexpensive housing. In the eyes of a poor beholder, the "City Beautiful" that many architects and planners propose is a mirage that makes his own desert even more degrading and unbearable.

A program for improving the urban environment must therefore deal with the environment of the poverty-stricken, and in this environment the feature most urgently in need of change is the slum. Not all dwelling units that look like slums to the middle class observer are actually slums, but some are a danger to health and all are a source of discomfort to their occupants. Similarly, not all low-income neighborhoods are slums, but in some, the presence of drug addicts and other sick people exposes residents to theft and violence, and also tempts those predisposed to drugs and delinquency by their constant availability on the street. As I noted before, moving people out of slums cannot by itself improve their living conditions, but as part of an anti-poverty effort, it is the first priority of an urban improvement program.

The shortcomings of public housing and urban renewal require their replacement by a large, federally supported *rehousing program* with three major features: the construction of new housing for slum dwellers, low-income people and others; the expansion of the rent supplement scheme to allow them and yet others to leave the slums, both for new and for better older housing; and the *subsequent* clearance or rehabilitation of the slums themselves.

The first step in such a program is the building of new housing for low-income people. Instead of public housing, the new units should be those now being

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built for middle income buyers and tenants, including single family homes and apartments, whether subsidized by F.H.A. or by direct federal, state and local grants. Such housing should be open to middle- and low-income people alike, and a certain proportion of the units should be reserved for the latter. Poor people should be enabled to rent them by a greatly expanded rent supplement program. The present program should also be revised, first by letting tenants eventually buy the units if they wish, and more important, by providing supplements when rents are beyond 20% of income, rather than the unreasonably high figure of 25% of the present scheme. This housing and rent supplement program, when combined with the other anti-poverty measures I described previously, should make it possible for poor people to choose in the housing market in the same way as all other Americans.

Integrating the Suburbs

The new housing must be built on vacant land in the city, on presently commercial or industrial land that would be better used for housing, and most important, on vacant land beyond the city limits. It must be provided in the suburbs and also in the new towns which are now being developed near some cities, and proposed for many others. Needless to say, the new housing must be racially integrated wherever it is put up.

Building integrated housing in the suburbs and the new towns is difficult, for not only do many middle-class whites want to keep out nonwhite neighbors, but until job opportunities for nonwhites are available, few of them will be able to move out of the city. However, it must be done for those who can move out, in order to begin to reduce ghetto densities, and to make it possible eventually to eliminate the ghetto through urban renewal.

Actually, the difficulties are not as great as they seem. Until more jobs for nonwhites are available, the people who will be able to move to such new housing will be principally middle-class nonwhites, and being middle-class, they are accepted much more easily by middle-class whites. Indeed, this is already happening in many suburban areas. Moreover, if the rehousing program is massive enough, and the housing is built on many sites in small projects, or better still, as part of normal suburban subdivision and new town development, then it can be put up everywhere, and no suburb can continue to attempt to remain racially "pure."

In addition, the federal government can make the rehousing program attractive to the suburbs by including in it provisions for schools and other facilities and even tax subsidies for municipal services so that suburban tax rates can be reduced. Beyond that, the government would also have to exert its power on the suburbs to accept the rehousing scheme, for example, by arguing that as long as de facto segregation exists in suburban schools, they will not be entitled to federal educational subsidies. At the same time, the government, private enterprise and the unions must make greater efforts to integrate industries located in the suburbs so that job opportunities for nonwhite workers will be available.

Even so, the vast majority of poor nonwhites will neither be able nor, perhaps willing to move beyond the city limits in the foreseeable future, for this requires not only occupational security, but also the emotional fortitude to live in predominantly white surroundings. Since most poor nonwhites will probably remain in the city for perhaps another generation, a significant proportion of the rehousing program must be located in the city, and particularly in the areas outside the ghettos. More important, a vastly increased rent supplement program would make it possible for many poor nonwhites who want to get out of the ghetto but do not want to leave the city to raise their children in better housing and better surroundings.

Withering of the Slums

Once the supply of housing available to poor and nonwhite people was increased in this way, it would then be possible to begin to clear or to rehabilitate the slums, either for their present occupants, or for other uses determined by city-wide planning considerations. As soon as a significant supply of new housing is available the slums will begin to empty automatically, and an adequate relocation program can also be set up in order to carry out urban renewal.

The rehousing scheme, the expansion of rent supplements and the renewal of the slums should be carried out in such a way that poor and nonwhite people can make housing choices like everyone else and without being punished by special regulations because of their poverty. Athough private enterprise has failed to provide housing for the poor in the past, except in the slums, it does have the advantage of treating its customers as equals when they have the ability to pay. Consequently, as much as possible of the program should be carried out through private enterprise, or through public agencies, semi-public institutions, foundations, and labor unions who will treat the subsidized purchasers and renters as customers.

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Even so, such a program will require a large increase in federal expenditures for housing, both in subsidies to builders and communities and in rent supplements. This, however, is one of its major virtues. Since the most important component of an effective anti-poverty program is the abolition of unemployment, and since construction is a highly labor-intensive industry, a massive rehousing program would create millions of new jobs, particularly for unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

If a prime justification for the housing effort is its job-creating potential, this effort must be massive enough not just to employ present workers in the building trades, but to bring many more new jobs into being. In addition, the federal government might require that a certain proportion of unemployed people be hired before federal subsidies are made available. Ideally, the slum dwellers should be hired to build the new housing they and their neighbors will occupy, and to clear or rehabilitate the slums which they have left behind. Such a program could learn much from Israel, where untrained newcomers from African and Oriental countries are being employed to build a huge amount of new housing for themselves and their families, and are thus creating full employment in a much less affluent economy.

There is no doubt that the rehousing program I have proposed would increase further the proportion of nonwhites in the city. Even if it could begin to integrate the suburbs, its immediate effect would be to move more nonwhite people into the city neighborhoods outside the ghetto, which in turn would at first increase the white exodus to the suburbs. I do not think this is as undesirable as it may appear to be, and more important, it is bound to happen anyway, for the increasing industrialization of Southern agriculture will continue to spur the migration of rural Southern Negroes to the urban North, just as the rising affluence of urban whites will attract more of them to the suburbs.

Old and New Policies

Present housing, anti-poverty and public welfare policies are only making sure that the nonwhite people of the city will become what Gunnar Myrdal calls the underclass, a poorly housed, poverty-stricken and unemployed urban proletariat. As white affluence increases further, and the promise of anti-poverty legislation is not matched by results, the nonwhite poverty-stricken city dwellers will only become angrier, and more hostile toward the whites who run the city's economy and political life. If their living conditions are not improved, and their needs not met, riots are likely to become commonplace.

Once effective anti-poverty and rehousing programs can be developed, however, and the economic and social condition of the poverty-stricken is visibly improved, crime, delinquency, and other forms of pathology will be reduced significantly. Not only will the nonwhite population be less hostile toward the whites who remain in the city and those who commute in from the suburbs, but more important, they will be able to want and to afford better municipal services and a better physical environment, and they will have the political strength at city hall to put power behind these demands.

At the same time, white anxieties about a predominantly nonwhite city will decrease, because at bottom these are not based on race but on class. The white fears are of a city of angry poor people. If they are not poor, they will not be so angry, and then, like all the previous immigrants to the city, they will be able to make a more positive contribution to the quality of urban life. When this happens, the predominance of nonwhites in the city will no longer be of much relevance, and indeed, those suburbanites who prefer the city but shun it now because they do want to live among the poor and deprived may return to the city to take advantage of its urbanity.

Many of the policies which I—and other planners and "housers" before me—have proposed can be found in the President's 1965 Message on Improving the Nation's Cities. It calls for "a massive addition to the supply of low and moderate cost housing," and the elimination of residential segregation, as well as federal support for new towns, social planning and mass transit.

The heart of the message is a "Demonstration Cities Program" to rebuild entire slum neighborhoods in as many as 70 cities. The nature of each demonstration will be left to local initiative, but must be of "sufficient magnitude both in physical and social dimensions . . ." to bring about a change in the total environment of the areas affected, to give "equal opportunity in the choice of housing . . . to every race," "to foster . . . widespread citizen participation—especially from the demonstration area—in planning and execution of the program," and "to offer maximum occasions for employing residents of the demonstration area in all phases of the program."

Yet like so many of President Johnson's proposals for the Great Society, this one is better in intent than in implementation. As always, the prime inadequacy is financial; the net federal subsidy for this program

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will be only 2.3 billion dollars over six years. Assuming that the entire sum were spent in subsidizing the building or rebuilding of low-cost housing—which is not intended—and estimating conservatively that $10,000 were spent for each dwelling unit, the 80 percent grant-in-aid offered the cities would produce only 300,000 new and rehabilitated units for the four million households who, according to the Message, now live in urban slums.

Likewise, the President asks for only 30 million dollars in rent supplements. Assuming an annual subsidy of $250 per household, this program would help only 120,000 of them for one year, or 60,000 for two. And none of my assumptions provide for the overhead costs of running the programs.

It would seem, then, that the new programs do not add significantly to the supply of good low-cost housing or to the rent paying ability of the poor. This conclusion can be evaluated in two ways: pessimistically and even cynically, that without adequate funding, the worthy aims of the Message are only political lip-service; or optimistically and pragmatically, that the Message calls for radical innovations in federal housing policy which must first be accepted by Congress and can then be financed properly in later years.

It is too early to tell which evaluation is correct, but it is not too early to suggest that considerable political pressure must be put on the White House and the Congress to translate the optimistic evaluation into reality. If such pressure can be developed by the cities, the civil rights movement, the anti-poverty forces, labor, the church and the liberal and radical groups, it may finally be possible to begin to liberate the millions now imprisoned in the ghetto slum.

Padre Torres

DEATH OF A REBEL PRIEST

ALEXANDER W. WILDE

"¡*Camilo Torres está muerto*!" "Camilo Torres is dead!" The cry ran down 10,000 streets in the cities and villages of Colombia the 17th of February. There were riots and rallies, especially of students, in many cities. In Medellín, some of the over 800 marchers in a procession through the city carried pictures of Torres, as they would of a saint. In Cali, funeral announcements were anonymously posted, with the words, "Camilo, we will avenge you!" In many cities, Masses were offered for his soul.

Dead was a young man of a "good family" who became a priest, who was educated at Louvain and had been chaplain and professor of sociology at the National University in Bogotá. Dead was a "rebel priest" who had attained national prominence by preaching popular social revolution. Dead was Camilo Torres, who had followed his vocation into the mountains to fight with the guerrilla "Army of National Liberation" (ELN)—to fight with the men who called Christ "the first guerrilla" and themselves "the true Church." According to official reports, he was killed in action when the rebel division he had joined less than two months earlier ambushed a government army unit.

While it is difficult to estimate the effects of Torres' death, the "Case of Camilo Torres" is clearly significant beyond the biography of one man. His rebellion took place not against a corrupt or brutal military dictatorship, but a civilian government of Colombia's traditional party politicians. It was a government expressly approved as "legitimate" by his ecclesiastical superiors in this most Catholic of countries. The controversy surrounding him during the past year throws into sharp focus the realities about "social revolution" in Latin America, and it well demonstrates the dilemma of the Church as it confronts those realities.

In March of last year, Padre Torres, together with other reformers, published a political and economic platform which blamed "the oligarchy" for the country's vast problems. By "oligarchy" he meant the small group of families that have dominated Colombia for a century. The leaders of the traditional political parties (who continue to rule, through the "National Front" agreement of 1957), the economic elites, and much of the Church, he said, had tragically failed their trust to

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create the spiritual and material conditions necessary for truly human life. His platform called for sweeping nationalizations, agrarian reform, a planned economy, a welfare state. To realize these goals, Torres argued, would mean a radical redistribution of political power —the establishment of genuine democracy—because the privileged minority would not carry out programs so inimicable to their own interests.

The condition of Colombia today testifies to the inadequacy of *noblesse oblige*. Beneath the glitter of Bogotá's sophistication, lies, in Oscar Lewis' phrase, a vast "culture of poverty" in which human degradation and desperation are only dimly mirrored in economic statistics. As much as 30 percent to 40 percent of the populations of Colombia's mushrooming cities live in the subproletarian slums sprawled around them. Although over 20 percent of the urban work force is now unemployed—more in the countryside—the situation will get worse. Of the 150,000 entering the labor market each year, only about 12,000 will find jobs in the industrial sector. Some 61 percent of Colombia's agricultural land belongs to 3.6 percent of all land owners, and 4.6 percent of the population receives 40.6 percent of the national income. Its infant mortality rate is over 10 percent, but Colombia's birth rate is one of the hemisphere's highest. There are 2.5 doctors for every 10,000 people; 25,000 children die of malnutrition every year. Illiteracy is above 40 percent and only about eight percent of Colombians receive any education beyond the primary level.

Mobilizing the Masses

Last July, after requesting and receiving release from his clerical obligations, Torres tried to create a popularly-based "United Front" capable of "taking power" for the revolution. He issued a weekly newspaper and toured the country speaking in university lecture halls and public squares. He believed, as do the leaders of the new African nations, that no underdeveloped nation can achieve a more just society unless it mobilizes its previously parochial masses. The widespread participation in development would, in addition, engender within the nation a new respect and faith in itself.

Torres' clear convictions about what society needed were no sure guide on how to get there. He was unclear about the mechanisms and processes by which the United Front could hope to succeed, and he was ambiguous about the use of violence. He spoke vaguely about a general strike, or a "popular coup," with the military neutral, even about winning elections. He repeatedly denied that he was preaching bloody revolution and held that whether change would be peaceful or not was in the hands of the oligarchy, which controlled the balance of force. Central to his thinking was the belief that the historical "oligarchical democracy" had lost its legitimacy—that the vast majority of the population had no trust, not just in the current regime, but in the whole system.

As the long summer wore on, it became apparent that Torres' United Front would fail. It was frustrated in the first place by the immense difficulties confronting any broad popular organization in underdeveloped society: the short-sightedness, deference, and apathy of the masses on one hand, and the organized hostility and harassment of the entrenched elites on the other. The Front fell, too, because it could never really unite the diverse radicals and reformers it brought together. However much they might be agreed on broad goals, the various groups were hopelessly split on how to achieve them. After increasing signs of Communist domination, the young Christian Democratic party (PSDC) and trade union movement (CLASC) withdrew from the Front in late September. There were resignations from the newspaper in October, and in November Camilo Torres himself dramatically disappeared.

The dominant opinion of the Church—most particularly of the hierarchy and clergy—was hostile to Torres. The most important voices are still, as they have always been, conservative. The hierarchy rejected his sociopolitical program (as advocating violence and disregarding the rights of property) at its annual assembly. Cardinal Concha of Bogotá, himself a scion of one of the country's old ruling families, deplored any clerical "intervention" in politics and made clear his belief that Torres' ideas were contrary to Church doctrine. The Church's attitude was in part a reaction to Torres' direct attacks on its social role. The Colombian Church, he said, was the "most backward in the world." It had consistently sided with the oligarchy against the poor. Far from eschewing politics, the Church had in fact always "intervened" to preserve its economic interests and institutional influence.

Torres was willing to admit that the Church had shown a social concern, especially since the Second World War. In 1946, the Jesuits, sensing the new world that industrialization was bringing, had entered the field of trade union organization, previously left to Liberals and Communists. The Union of Colombian Workers (UTC) of which they are "moral advisers" has become Colombia's largest union federation. The Church-stimulated UCONAL and UCOPAN, and the Worker's University in Cali, were helping workers and peasants

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organize credit unions and co-operatives. "Radio Sutatenza" was a promising way of teaching neglected peasants basic literacy and skills. Various community projects—such as the "Centros Parroquiales" of Cali or the "Minuto de Dios" in Bogotá—have allieviated local problems.

But the trouble was that the whole approach was piecemeal—and too tied to clerical apronstrings. The Church has relied too greatly on the ability and initiative of individual priests. The "Minuto de Dios" community depends heavily on the direction and fund-raising of its founder, Padre García Herreros—and it is 3,000 people, perhaps someday 10,000, out of Bogotá's present 1.7 million. Even the splendid Parochial Centers of Msgr. Alberto Uribe in Cali—which are like oases within the city's poorest districts—give primary education to only 8,000, secondary to 1,000, out of a population of 700,000. It is significant that the UTC's growing social effectiveness correlates very closely with its increasing independence from clerical influence.

Torres was, during last summer, clearly spokesman for an increasing body of Catholic opinion. As in Venezuela, Chile, and Peru, this new voice within the Colombian Church is that of the younger clergy (especially those educated abroad) and newly-active laymen, mostly urban professionals and organized workers and university students and professors. All over Colombia laymen have been meeting to talk with each other and with priests about the Social Doctrine of the Church and its meaning for their country. They want to breathe new life into their Church and request open dialogue with the hierarchy (thus far denied). These are the groups that have most welcomed the new directions indicated by the Council in Rome; but they have found out that the "Spirit of Rome" seems to evaporate on the long trip back to Latin America. The archbishops who gave such large majorities to progressive resolutions at the Council become their old, conservative selves when they return to their own dioceses.

These "new Catholics" are clearly more radical than the older generation of socially-active priests, such as Msgr. Uribe or Padre Vicente Andrade of the UTC—who are themselves more "reformist" than dominant Church opinion on social matters. The older, locally-active priests play a role within the Church similar to that of the "defensive reformers," such as Liberal Carlos Lleras Restrepo, among the party politicians. They are part of the enlightened defense of the system; they were, not surprisingly, hostile to Camilo Torres. This group is distinguished from the "new Catholics" by its still essentially *clerical* outlook: it would prefer to see the initiative and control of social reform stay within the clergy, not pass to laymen or the government. Like the traditional Church, these priests have a profound fear of change they cannot guide, of sudden discontinuity in the "evolution" they oppose to Torres' "revolution." There is an uneasiness that too great involvement in society will secularize the Church: in the words of Cardinal Concha, "in what is social there are disputable things, and the Church does not enter disputable fields because its truth is permanent."

Refusal to enter "disputable fields" means working *within* the given hierarchical society, as the Church always has. It means charity, an appeal to the good will of the rich and powerful. Stimulated by Torres' radical critique, last summer's meeting of the Colombian Episcopate did urge social reform; but the approaches to change were traditional: the Hierarchy's declaration reasserted the "duty" of "those that possess wealth and culture" to help the "evolution" and *invited* its flock to create a better society.

The "new Catholics" have a very different idea of how social change comes about. Like Torres, they believe that social reform will inevitably be inadequate and misdirected while political and economic power remains in so few hands. They see the need of radical renovation of the power relationships within Colombian society. They will not beg the wealthy for alms, as Padre Herreros does in his annual "Banquet of the Million" (Pesos), but rather, in the words of Padre César Augusto Arias, ask "that the Government *oblige the rich* to do works, to set up factories, to create sources of work . . ." (emphasis added).

To achieve structural reforms means replacing paternalism with participation. Common men must be given the dignity that can come only from their participation in the decision-making that affects their lives. There are strong echoes here of the remedies of "new radicals" in our own country, but Colombia has a far more virulent form of the disease. The symptoms are a *desconfianza* throughout the society: rootlessness, hopelessness, bitterness, and violence among the *lumpenproletariat* of the cities and the forgotten peasantry in the countryside.

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One quantitative measure is the mere 30 percent turnout in the last national elections. Another, the persistence of the amorphous "Violencia" which has claimed over 200,000 lives in the last 20 years.

The ELN is a new form of the continuing violence, but it departs from traditional norms in several important ways. It frequently pays peasants for provisions, rather than stealing them as the bandits always did. Also, its objective is not the defense of one traditional party against the other—which was a basic motive during the period of civil war, 1948-54—but rather the destruction of all traditional ruling groups. It seems to be financed and armed at least in part from outside the country.

In joining the ELN in the first place, Torres in effect killed himself—in the sense of ending the great influence he could have had among the democratic "new Catholics." Some students may see him as a martyr and follow him into the ELN. Many more will simply mourn him as a prodigal—and true—son of the Church. These professional people, workers, and younger priests will be inspired by his sacrifice but will miss his positive leadership.

Their essentially Christian Democratic outlook—lying between the organized violence of the ELN and the institutionalized caution of the traditional Church—is the most hopeful alternative for Colombia. Today these "new Catholics" are scattered and largely outside political life. If the young PSDC or a similar group could mobilize their potential political power, they could transform Colombia. Most of these people will not follow Torres into the mountains because they still have faith in democratic methods. They realize that widespread popular organization will eventually mean confrontations with the oligarchy, but still hope that rapid and radical social change can take place peacefully.

They cannot succeed without the support of the Church. That will mean a profound re-interpretation of its mission. The younger clergy, following the lines of Torres' thinking, have new answers to the old questions of Church and State. Many of them believe that the Colombian Church can no longer be one arm of the ruling oligarchy; that the Church must oppose the government not only when it usurps clerical privilege, but more importantly when it neglects the moral imperatives of its social task. The Archbishop has already been asked by the government to still such voices, which were heard publicly in radio broadcasts following Torres' death. The hierarchy's decision in this instance, and the many like it that will arise in the near future, will importantly affect whether Colombia's revolution will be like Chile's—or Cuba's.

THE FREE SOUTHERN THEATRE

ETC.

No one seems to be admitting it just yet—the official bell of doom has not tolled—but there is every reason to believe that the much-touted Free Southern Theatre has died a sputtering and somewhat ignoble death. What was to have been its third and most ambitious tour began in August last year, when, hopes high (and bank balance low), it sent a company of 23, a car, and a truck into the hinterlands of Mississippi. Its mission was to bring a people's theater to the theaterless masses of the South's most culturally deprived areas, and its hope was to supply a sense of history and emotional direction to its audiences, while it drew from its hosts the catalytic elements of people's-art creation.

But after playing only a relatively few weeks, its cash was depleted and its credit exhausted. The tour, planned to last into December, disintegrated. Some of the company, disillusioned and dispirited, scattered to resume their personal lives. But a hard core of the faithful beat their way to the North, and took up again the thankless task of fund-raising. Prevented from staging benefit performances both by the unavailability of its cast and by local Equity and other union restrictions, these devotees took any means available to button-hole prospective donors and to appeal to this or that audience. There seemed to be hope for the resurrection of the Free Southern Theatre in October. That hope dwindled into despair at the close of 1965. Despite sporadic attempts at fund-raising in the past six weeks, it is doubtful that even its most avid supporters believed that resuscitation in anything like its past form was any longer possible.

What had gone wrong? Why had this movement, after receiving nationwide verbal support and not inconsiderable financial backing, accomplished, in cold actuality, so little? Why had 26 months of fund-raising and planning resulted in less than five cumulative months of play-performing before its intended audience?

The idea for the troupe was that of two young actors and hopeful playwrights, Gilbert Moses and John O'Neal, who, in late 1963, sought to bridge the gap between their professional aspirations and their desire to participate directly in the civil rights movement in the South. They begged and borrowed the initial backing, but it took until August of 1964 to get the show on the road. "In White America" was per-

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formed in New Orleans, and then in 15 rural Mississippi towns. The script was basically that which had enjoyed a long Off-Broadway run in New York, with an added scene pertaining to the then-recent freedom-worker slayings in Mississippi. In September, monies and energies exhausted, the troupe returned to its new headquarters in New Orleans, and began preparing for another trip. In November, they hit the road again. With only a short Christmas break, the second tour continued through January. Over 20 Mississippi and Tennessee towns saw Ossie Davis' "Purlie Victorious" and Beckett's "Waiting for Godot," along with occasional revivals of "In White America."

In February, 1965, the troupe came to New York to perform before benefit audiences and to ring door bells for money. Hopes were running high, and far-reaching plans were announced. There was to be a continually traveling repertory company, along with permanent community theater projects and playwrights' and actors' workshops. Of the eight players who had toured "Purlie" and "Godot," only four chose to continue, but to these were added 19 recruits. The company was to perform a repertoire consisting of "In White America," a George Tabori adaptation of Brecht's "The Rifles of Señora Carrar," O'Casey's "Shadow of a Gunman," Molière's "George Dandin," and James Baldwin's "Blues For Mr. Charlie." Though the expanded troupe received only subsistence wages, and was housed in private homes in the towns it visited, its outgo exceeded $1,000 per week, and its performances brought, of course, no income. Like a swelling balloon about to burst, the Free Southern Theatre was at its grandest when it expired.

Obviously, its directors and management almost insured its demise by allowing it to expand beyond its foreseeable means. But if such misguidance was its only problem, then the Free Southern Theatre could hardly have died so easily. For it was, in all truth, too unimpeded a death for an institution of over two years' reputed viability. If we are to perform a reliable autopsy, we will have to get past the fund-raising press releases, and determine what the Free Southern Theatre actually meant to its audiences.

The tour audiences were drummed up by workers in the Movement. The people came to the church, or the movie-house, or the social hall, and their behavior and reaction proved to be dictated more by the building they were in than by the play or its performance. That is, they were respectful in the churches, gum-chewing, shuffling, and raucous in the movie-houses, and moving about in the social halls. They were working-class Negro audiences; the few whites were almost always involved in the Movement. They responded to the human, the homely, the family orientation of the plays. They were aware of Brecht's evocation of the universal problems implicit in the mother-son relationship, but they were not caught up by the "political" message in "Carrar." The plight of those who waited for Godot seemed to be symbolic of their own; they found its poetry moving, like that of a spiritual, and its humor a delight. They took in "In White America" as if it were a Sunday School lesson, and appreciated its sense of their struggle's historical perspective.

The rural audiences might have responded to "Purlie's" story of a man's struggle for identity in a changing world, but were prevented from doing so by the group's farcical manner of playing, which forced the play to seem to these audiences like a stereotyped and anachronistic re-hash of their fathers' problems. The tour died before the Molière, O'Casey, and Baldwin plays could actually be staged before their intended viewers.

In the less than five months of actual performance in Mississippi and Tennessee in 1964 and 1965, each of the 20 or so towns involved might have experienced, on an average, four performances. In short, it would be folly to believe that so transitory an exposure to the live stage had, or could have had, a significant effect upon the values and lives of its brief audience. The natives were so tuned to their customary responses to sermons, movies, or the radio, that they reacted to the plays in the same manner.

The company's own uneasiness in this respect led them to an experiment in Jonesboro, Mississippi which turned out to be traumatic. In an effort to make their theater more meaningful to their hosts, the troupe worked up a partially improvised and partially rehearsed show dealing directly and especially with Jonesboro and its people and its problems. Local "writers" were recruited, and local actors were used. The audience reaction was enthusiastic. Jonesboro is one town that will remember the Free Southern Theatre.

The audience at Jonesboro pointed out irrevocably what it is easy to say now should have been realized from the first. A people does not want theater thrust upon it any more than it wants a dole or a foreign language thrust upon it. Modern-day carpet-baggers with outsider plays in their pockets have no more real place in a culture than did the political carpet-baggers of old. If there is to be a free southern theater, it will be staged indigenously, by people within a culture that is acting out and celebrating its own aspirations. There is only one road open to those individuals from the outside world who would like to help, and that is to stop commuting, and to physically and spiritually join the emergent community.

R. J. SCHROEDER

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LES GIRLS VASSAR

THE SCREEN

Sidney Lumet, who scorns big, box-office movies and has directed such stimulating, but-not-always-successful films as "Long Day's Journey Into Night," "Twelve Angry Men," and last year's "The Hill" and "The Pawnbroker," wrote an interesting article recently on why he prefers "films of conscience." For one thing, the movies, he says, "represent the last and only medium in which it is possible to tell a story of conscience, outside the printed word." He explains that Broadway has become "an economic battleground" and TV is limited by increased budgets and "the sponsors' need for happy endings and nice stories about nice people." In describing the "film of conscience," Lumet says the goal of all movies is to entertain, but that "kind of film goes one step further. It compels the spectator to examine one facet or another of his own conscience. It stimulates thought and sets the mental juices flowing."

Director Lumet's new film, "The Group," fits the definition. Although it is a strange, all-inclusive, no-holds-barred movie that runs the gamut from scenes that are almost soap-operaish, to amusing scenes that are almost satire, to outrageously frank scenes that are almost voyeuristic, it is still greatly entertaining while it provokes thought and pushes the viewer into examining his own conscience. The viewer may not agree with a single one of the eight girls who make up The Group, but he is forced into considering the reality of their behavior and the irony of the story as a whole. It is not a pretty story, but at times it is very touching. Since I only whizzed through the Mary McCarthy book (which is not really cricket) I cannot say how closely Sidney Buchman stuck to it in his script. Although he made some changes in details and he does not have the McCarthy bitter quality, his is a good script that has caught the tenor of the novel well.

Audiences who have not read the book may have the same trouble I did during the first half-hour of this lengthy film. It starts at a college graduation. (If it's Vassar, as in the book, the film does not say so.) "And we the class of '33 go forth" etc. etc. And we the audience follow the eight girls who belonged to this exclusive group at college. But the trouble is, since the actresses who play the group are not well known and since the film jumps from scene to scene showing the various members of the group together or going their individual ways or just talking about a missing member, we the audience have difficulty figuring out which girl has done what.

Sidney Buchman, who wrote the complicated though literate script, also gave the film its first-rate production. It has no movie stars—an idea that must have pleased Sidney Lumet who directed the eight quite attractive comparative newcomers and got eight good performances, no one of which stands out as *the* best, but all contribute effectively to the whole. Joanna Pettet plays Kay, the first of the group to marry—right after graduation—and her story is perhaps the saddest as she struggles along with her handsome actor-playwright husband (Larry Hagman) whose failures, and Kay's nagging, lead to his drinking, promiscuity, the shattered marriage, and Kay's breakdown. As the lesbian, Candice Bergman is cool, mannered—and strikingly beautiful; and unfortunately for us, she lives in Europe during most of the story. Pretty Joan Hackett is somewhat vague as the Bostonian Dottie who has a one-night affair with a Greenwich Village artist—an affair from which she seems never really to recover, even after she goes to Arizona and marries money there. Wealthy, plump, dull Pokey, played by Mary-Robin Redd, also marries more money. Elizabeth Hartman makes a rather pathetic creature of Priss, who starts out determined to work for causes but winds up as a sort of drudge for her self-centered, society-minded pediatrician husband.

Kathleen Widdoes also wins our sympathy as Helena, who has ideals and wants to work in a nursery school, but her snobbish wealthy father talks her out of teaching all "those Yids' kids," sends her off to Europe, and manages to curb what initiative she has. Jessica Walter makes lively, ambitious Libby an interesting though thoroughly unpleasant cheat, the kind of a girl who attracts men, gives them the come-hither act, and then turns them down at the last-last moment; even after she gets her come-uppance from a Norwegian baron, she continues her near-seduction game. Perhaps the girl whose story interests us most is Polly, played with great sensitivity by Shirley Knight as a serious-minded girl who works in a hospital; she has an affair with a publisher (Hal Holbrook), a married man who has charm, a wife, and no strength of character; she's heartbroken when this man leaves her, and she has sense enough to fall in love with a doctor (James Broderick) who has more than surface charm and fortunately no wife.

The men in this story, though well-played (especially Hagman, Holbrook, and Broderick) and not neglected, are actually secondary. It is the Group we are considering; and Sidney Buchman's production with its good color photography, costumes of the 1930s, well-designed

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interior sets and on-the-spot exteriors (mostly New York), and Sidney Lumet's skillful direction have done right by the girls. The film does not defend their behavior—although I suppose every movie editorializes to some extent through selection and editing—but it is saying here are these women right or wrong through some six years after graduation.

Some of the best sequences in "The Group" consist of merciless exposés: of people's shallow thinking, of psychiatry, of lack of compassion, of the silly struggle for false goals, of other facets of behavior. Perhaps the most effective scene of all is at the finale as The Group and others attend Kay's funeral. Kay's husband and the lesbian Lakey, riding together, berate each other viciously—each for what the other is. In anger, the young widower gets out of the car and yells at Lakey, "You bury her. You and the group. She belonged to you." And as the stream of cars enters the cemetery, we hear on the sound track part of the valedictory address, "We, the class of '33 go forth to play a role in every sphere of the nation's life. . . . We believe all shades of opinion are entitled to a hearing." And the irony of what we see and what we hear stuns us. But at least "The Group" has the courage of what convictions it has: "all shades of opinion are entitled . . ."

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

FOOLS' RACINE

THE STAGE

Since you don't go telling someone like Racine that he is having first-act trouble, I guess we shall have to blame the production for the lugubrious start that "Phèdre" gets off to at the Greenwich Mews. The acting is certainly uncommonly stiff and statuesque, which is just the wrong kind of acting for rhymed couplets, whose own stiffness needs constant neutralizing. Michael Durrell as Hyppolite has, or had the night I was there, a specially disconcerting habit of twisting his neck and staring ferociously into the wings—the kind of pose that should be followed by a silent movie caption ("Great Scott, will you stop at nothing"—something like that).

In the intermission there was time to speculate whether serious plays can be done at all these days in alexandrines. Molière comedies just about squeak by, on grounds of matching artificiality in the text; but even Molière requires the actors to scoot quickly over some of the jinglier rhymes. For elevated speeches you are plainly going to be in trouble.

Having settled this point in my mind, I was dismayed to go back and find that the second act was quite effective; the actors loosened up and moved around a little, and William Packard's translation seemed to pick up miraculously in consequence. Certain slack rhyme-words seemed to recur a little too often ("source" and "course" for instance) but generally the language is strong and unmannered. Mildred Dunnock looks permanently tremulous as usual, but this is just as it should be for once. Beatrice Straight generates some real passion as Phèdre—and of course the conviction that goes into this role is the key to the play's success.

Since the couplets cease completely to bother towards the end, the moral has to be either that the human ear can get used to anything if you give it time, or that the production has done a commendable salvage job.

Or that Racine had first-act trouble. (*At the Greenwich Mews*)

Paul Goodman, that venerable cut-up, has given himself and us an extra light workout with the Book of Jonah. His whimsical strategy has been to turn Jonah into a Borscht comedian and Nineveh into a discotheque and to improvise some appropriate patter for all hands. The first act is pretty hopeless. In the opening scene Jonah runs the old resignation-humor (shrugs, mumbles, etc.) a mile into the ground. He then proceeds to sober up for a spell in the whale's belly, which entails a radical change of accent and demeanor, and is hardly worth the effort.

Things brighten a bit when we get to Nineveh. The local hipsters decide to give repentance a whirl, as the new thing, and make a voguish business of sackcloth and ashes and elementary garment-rending. Quite a pretty conceit, if you don't go on too long with it (opinions will vary on whether the play does or not). After 40 days, the Lord decides that this kind of repentance will do the job, being about all you can expect from such a bunch of nudniks. He placates Jonah with a gourd, as it says in the Good Book—or rather in this case, an enormous balloon made up to look like a watermelon. You know the rest of the story. Goodman sticks to the original fairly closely, in a spirit of Yiddish "Green Pastures": and as the saying goes, if you like this sort of thing, well, this is the sort of thing you like. (*At the American Place Theater*)

"The Great Indoors" is an example (last year's "Slow Dance on the Killing Ground" was another) of a form that is almost bound to fail—call it the play of concrete abstraction.

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It is a play about Race, treated primarily as a mental rather than a physical fact. One thinks at once of Genet's "The Blacks," in which Race was treated as pure relationship. I am white, he is black. I am black, he is white. Me on top, him on top—a post-Einstein astronomy in which relationship has become the absolute. For this to work, the characters have to be suitably streamlined, stripped of unnecessary particularities. They can shift, change faces and positions: they can *move.*

In "The Great Indoors," race is considered partly as this kind of abstraction, but partly also as an element in a particular situation. In such a marriage, the particular situation is usually the one to suffer. A household full of symbols and metaphors is rarely convincing. The playwright, Irene Kamp, has mustered a Jew, a Negro, a German, a dispossessed Southern belle, a Bull Connor sheriff—a walking anthology of Problems. I wouldn't have been surprised to find a character representing the New York water shortage in this relentlessly incredible play.

So you tell yourself, they aren't really doing this, they're just being symbols. But then why give them a real house with a real phone number? The mixture has never worked, and never will work, but Miss Kamp has written some amusing lines, and Curt Jurgens executes some snappy billiard shots, so the evening is not a total waste. (*Closed at the Eugene O'Neill*)

WILFRID SHEED

BOOKS

The intellectual mob for the defense

The Dreyfus Affair

BETTY SCHECHTER

Houghton Mifflin, $3.50

Protest: Sacco-Vanzetti and the Intellectuals

DAVID FELIX

Indiana Univ. Press, $5.95

DAVID CORT

The Dreyfus Case in France beginning in 1894, and the Sacco-Vanzetti Case in Massachusetts beginning in 1920, should long ago have been bracketed as a single two-part study of justice versus mass-thinking. Both challenged the morality of the whole society, both dragged on for years, both echoed around the civilized world and, taken together, they give an ironic warning against simplistic thinking.

Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty, yet their mistaken defenders prepared America for a philosophy of social mercy. Dreyfus was innocent, yet his defenders failed to break the back of either anti-Semitism or military justice in France. The mobs were wrong in both cases but in America at least a decent heritage was left.

In 1894, as Betty Schechter tells us again, the French Army knew from counter-espionage that a French officer, probably on the General Staff and identified by the Germans as "the Scoundrel D," was selling military secrets to Germany. On no more solid evidence than this, the French generals arrested Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a Jew, court-martialed him for treason and sent him to Devil's Island. Fabricated evidence had been shown the judges in camera, and all inquiry into the facts was blocked for "reasons of state" and the honor of the high army officers, "For France!"

Never has an officer corps so stubbornly shamed itself in the name of honor. But its shame was covered by the howling of the anti-Semitic, monarchist and militarist mobs. In fact, Dreyfus was never officially vindicated, and the real spy, Count Esterhazy, was never convicted. Esterhazy was conclusively identified as the traitor; but then he was vindicated twice over. Then Zola wrote "J'Accuse." Then Zola was tried and convicted, but the verdict set aside. Then a naïve new war minister revealed the secret documents, one of which almost immediately turned out to be a forgery. The officer-forger committed suicide; the chief of staff resigned in disgrace; and Esterhazy bolted out of France. In August, 1899, Dreyfus was retried by a military court and, in brazen defiance of the evidence, pronounced "guilty—with extenuating circumstances." He then accepted a presidential pardon. A civil trial was ordered in 1903, and in June 1906, this court produced the remarkable conclusion that there had never been a crime, because Esterhazy's original information for the Germans had been unimportant. The army, that is, never surrendered.

Betty Schechter's version of the incredible story reads very quickly. The absence of any profound new insights is scarcely missed; the Affair itself is meat enough.

The memory of the Dreyfus Case, even across a world war, undoubtedly inspired the innocent idealists who made the Sacco-Vanzetti Case their cause. In fact the Dreyfusard society, *Ligue des Droits de l'Homme,* joined in the propaganda with a series of Sacco-Vanzetti pamphlets. Dreyfus himself reluctantly advised against the executions. The Paris mob rioted as violently for Sacco-Vanzetti as it had against Dreyfus a generation earlier. In America the liberals, Heywood Broun,

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Dos Passos, Walter Lippmann, Dorothy Parker, John Dewey, discovered the case seven years late. Just as the cry of "Guilty!" had swept France, now the cry of "Innocent!" swept the intellectuals' ivory towers.

"The Sacco-Vanzetti Case" can be simply described, forty-five years late. At 3.05 p. m. on April 15, 1920, a paymaster and guard in South Braintree, Mass., came down a street with a payroll. Two lounging Italians confronted them. One put three bullets into the guard and then shot the fleeing paymaster.

Nicola Sacco stepped up and put the fatal bullet from a Colt .32 into the guard, shooting down into the crouching man. Bartolomeo Vanzetti then, it would seem, ran up with a shotgun and blasted wildly away at both paymaster and guard, hitting nobody. On May 5, Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested. Sacco was carrying the gun that fired the fatal shot into the guard and in his pockets samples of all the three types of rare and obsolete shells found at the scene of the crime. Vanzetti was carrying shotgun shells and an H. & R. .38 revolver, the same type as the dead guard's which the murderers had taken.

Seven witnesses identified Sacco, four Vanzetti, as of the murder party. Sacco, though a steady worker, was not on the job on the murder day. The alibis were supplied by the Italian and anarchist community and were quickly shaken. And, though the trial did not make much of the point, the two men were anarchists, sworn to violence, Vanzetti the more dedicated. And Sacco and Vanzetti were known to be close friends.

The contrast with the Dreyfus case where the evidence was essentially that the name Dreyfus begins with a "D" must make one wonder two ways about human judgment. How could honorable men come to dismiss this body of evidence?

First, a tremendous public relations and fund-raising job was done for some years by the first defense lawyer, Fred H. Moore, an old I.W.W. advocate, who finally decided his clients were guilty. But the definitive job was done by the great jurist, Felix Frankfurter, who presented in the March 1927 *Atlantic Monthly* a beautifully reasoned defense of Sacco and Vanzetti's total innocence. For his facts about the actual event on April 15, 1920, he used only the Defendants' Exceptions, Amended Bill of Exceptions, Supplementary Bill, etc., not the transcript of the trial proceedings. At that point the argument over-powered the reality.

The Frankfurter brief became the basic truth of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, and none of the newcomers to the cause felt any need to go any deeper. On this assurance, H. G. Wells was able to state flatly that Sacco and Vanzetti could not have been anywhere near South Braintree on that day. The whole intellectual world "knew" that the two Italians were more innocent than themselves: a truly sublime state of innocence, in the world of 1927.

Felix notes that the Communists repeatedly tried to capture the Sacco-Vanzetti defense organization but by some miracle, chiefly the work of Frankfurter and the Civil Liberties Union, were successfully fought off. Ultimately everybody got into the act and Sacco-Vanzetti demonstrations exploded around the world, far exceeding the world's concern for the infinitely more deserving Dreyfus.

Distinguished champions of Sacco-Vanzetti still alive might consider the ironies here. The innocent Dreyfus' mind was definitely impaired by his torture on Devil's Island. The guilty Sacco and Vanzetti bloomed in jail, received a train of sycophants and dressed like Boston bankers. Their casual jargon became Holy Writ. But Vanzetti's most glorious statement, in all that towering moraine of Vanzettiana, is now definitely proved to have been the transliteration of a professional writer, Phil Stong.

Vanzetti, in particular, and Sacco in his leaden way, were popular. As opposed to the Old American, New England style, they enchanted America suddenly with the style of the peasant illiterate foreigner. Their moral triumph was the final blow to Protestant Boston and Harvard. They wanted, unlike Boston and Harvard, to be liked. Remember that Dreyfus was a man who didn't care whether anybody liked him. Dreyfus was a decent, honorable officer, and Sacco and Vanzetti were murdering hoodlums. But historically the hoodlums got the better press.

Mr. Felix, as his title warns, goes into why the intellectuals, even belatedly, got interested in them. In the 1920s a young writer either got a big literary agency to sell his stuff, preferably to the *Saturday Evening Post*, or he disappeared into Greenwich Village; nobody thought of Madison Avenue. Talented writers vanished by the thousands. By 1927 the few survivors were getting irritable and they found in the Sacco-Vanzetti Case their *raison d'être*, and they didn't care about the details. The right mob rallied around the wrong martyrs.

But the intellectuals developed their moral muscle in the process and got to know one another. They were exalted when Sacco said at his sentencing, "I never know, never heard, even read in history anything so cruel as this court." What matter that the protagonist was only an actor in a fiction? He was well cast and had good lines.

The two famous cases seem to advise the mobs to stop and look at the reality. What they are really rioting about is a larger "reality" that is impervious to facts. Dreyfus had to be guilty because he was a Jew. Sacco and Vanzetti had to be innocent because they were poor immigrants with funny accents. The old simplicities, Felix concludes, have been destroyed by reality, and we end in irony. Actually we end with more than irony, but the point is good enough for these two cases.

The Partial Critics

LEE T. LEMON

Oxford Univ. Press $5.75

LAURA SCANLON

Literary criticism has been cynically called the act of darkness. In fact, it does sometimes spring blindly from the

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writer's eccentricities or, in happier cases, from his sensitivity. According to Lee T. Lemon, valid criticism can emerge only from sound critical theory. He states his case in *The Partial Critics* with a highly intelligent survey of recent criticism and a forceful statement of his own position.

He limits his study specifically to lyric poetry, although he assumes a wider application. His thesis is that modern critics have not incorporated evaluation into their criticism; instead, they have engaged in either subjective or technical analysis, recording their opinions, or listing their favorite effects without producing relevant conclusions about the poem itself. Lemon asserts that "We do not make sense of our response to a poem when we illuminate merely its irony, its paradoxes, its archetypal patterns, its wise morality, or its basis in the poet's experience." We must ". . . illuminate the entire work that formed it—including all the work's patterns of sound and meaning." His quarrel is with critics (among them I. A. Richards, Allen Tate, Northrop Frye, Yvor Winters) who have pursued one aspect of poetry without regard for the entire poem or who have been theoretically unsystematic.

Lemon begins with fairly common critical concepts and traces them through the work of several critics. His general division is into mimetic (poem as imitation) and formalistic (poem as autonomous unit) theories and their subdivisions. Within this framework he demonstrates the development, the consistency or lack of it, or the outright contradictions in the works of an astonishing number of critics while he quite convincingly presents his own viewpoint.

Lemon treats these critics fairly, but his arguments yield some harsh conclusions. His comments on Cleanth Brooks' analysis of Wordsworth's sonnet "Composed Upon Westminster Bridge" glaringly spotlight that critic's immoderate concern for irony and paradox. Of course William Empson's mania for ambiguity gets its usual trouncing, as does R.P. Blackmur's early theory of language as gesture. Lemon shows that theory and practice are variously related in these writers. Cleanth Brooks cannot forget his theory and it constricts him; R.P. Blackmur tucks his theory away and functions as an excellent practical critic; and T. S. Eliot adapts his critical approach to the work at hand but, unfortunately, announces ". . . a new theory for each new approach." One would expect Northrop Frye to be his kind of critic, but Lemon argues against Frye's basic concern with relating individual works to the whole of literature instead of experience.

One may wonder if these critics deserve such ruthless analysis. Might not similar charges be levelled at all writers on literature? Lemon says that Eliot is unsystematic, that I.A. Richards was bogged down by logical positivism and that John Crowe Ransom is overly concerned with "imitation." In fact, Samuel Johnson was not systematic and Coleridge was, in a sense, bogged down by German idealism—one could go on like this.

But, even granting this point, Lemon does have a legitimate cause here. There is no real reason why critical pluralism within a general system cannot work. He proposes the basis for such a system in the last half of his book. First, Lemon argues for the concept of the poem as open form, that is, that the form of the poem is something that ". . . comes into being as a result of the interaction of the poem and the consciousness of the reader." Using an approach that consistently focuses on the poem itself, Lemon skilfully defends this position from the inevitable charge that it is too subjective.

His version of the open form theory, a moderate position between the totally subjectivist and objectivist opinions, gives criticism a push in the direction of reality. In fact, moderation and flexibility are Lemon's chief virtues as a theorist. His acceptance of the poem as a symbolic form (in a general sense), an interpretation of reality rather than a representation of it, leads him to conclude that since the poem remakes the shape of reality, it extends beyond itself, so that neither mimetic accuracy alone nor internal coherence alone tests a poem's value. The poem is evaluated according to the degree of complexity and integrity involved. In analysis ambiguity, irony, tension, all effects must be considered as contributing to the total work.

Of course I have merely sketched the outlines of Lemon's theories. He actually works out a sound proposal for a possible critical base. He succeeds where most of the "partial critics" fail; he sets up critical tenets which are specific enough to be guidelines but general enough to include the many possibilities inherent in poetry and in language itself.

Protestantism in Transition

CHARLES W. KEGLEY

Harper and Row, $5.75

Ecumenical Experiences

EDIT. LUIS V. ROMEU

Newman, $4.50

DONALD P. GRAY

If one were to attempt an educated guess at the probable contents of *Protestantism in Transition* solely on the basis of the title and the fact that Charles Kegley has for some years now been working together with Robert Bretall as the highly competent co-editor of the Library of Living Theology (including volumes on Tillich, Niebuhr, and Brunner), he would likely assume that he was in store for an incisive analysis of the variegated and fascinating thought world of twentieth-century Protestant theology. Unfortunately, this is precisely what I did and as a result I left myself open for a rather rude surprise. For this much at least the reader will not find here. Kegley's undertaking is something at once more comprehensive and more intellectually modest.

Assuming that the projected title of the book was *What Is Protestantism?* (and there are some indications in the text that this may have been the case), the reader gets a clearer idea of what

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to expect. For the author is in fact attempting to delineate the meaning, history, faith, and ethical stance of Protestant Christianity in as concise and intelligible a way as possible. Kegley's intent is to reach the "literate layman" and he has been largely successful. The knowledgeable will undoubtedly object to the oversimplification unavoidable in a survey directed towards a broad, non-specialist audience, but the technically uninitiated will find this a useful, up-to-date introduction to ecumenical Protestantism.

To the question "what is Protestantism?" the author replies "evangelical catholicity." And it is interesting to see now he consistently associates the Eastern Orthodox and Protestant understanding of this description of Christianity over against Roman Catholicism. While I was constantly wanting to introduce qualifiers into his characterization of Catholicism, there is no doubt that he has focused on elements which have traditionally enjoyed the greatest visibility in Catholic life and teaching and which have as well traditionally rankled both Protestants and Orthodox. Kegley, moreover, does show himself to be hopefully open to the contemporary renewal in the Church, although to my mind he still does not allow the progressive theology of this century to modify his presentation sufficiently. If one comes away with a single overarching impression, it is that the meaning of authority and freedom still remain at the center of our divisions and at the heart of our drive to achieve a visibly united evangelical catholicity.

For the Catholic reader, then, Kegley's presentation offers an intelligent Protestant's response (almost visceral at times) to Roman Catholicism in an era of transition for both, at the same time that it provides a readable account of the multiform meaning of Protestant Christianity.

During the second session of the Council Luis Romeu put two questions to a variety of figures with long experience in the ecumenical movement: "What motives led you to take an active part in the ecumenical movement and what do you expect from it in our time?" While inevitably repetitious in places, the resulting symposium is generally absorbing. The final product brings together 28 of the replies (16 Catholic, 9 Protestant, 3 Orthodox), which vary in length from Martin Niemoeller's one paragraph to Gustave Thils' 18 pages.

What is disconcerting is that fully one half of the contributors do not really make a direct frontal attack on the first question. While there appears to be a consensus on the second question, *viz.* that dramatic effects should not be looked for from ecumenical encounter in our generation, for some reason or other many contributors were reluctant to put their own personal ecumenical history on record. Even though these particular essays are not without their own value, they tend to restrict themselves to an objective account of the meaning and history of the ecumenical venture, thus largely restating what is already well-known to those reasonably familiar with ecumenical literature.

Those who chose to reveal something of their own inner evolution towards and within ecumenism (i.e. those who actually answered the first question as posed) give the book its proper uniqueness and its peculiar interest. They also serve to add to one's disappointment that the others did not so choose. In this regard the pieces by Yves Congar, Oscar Cullmann, Pierre Michalon, Olivier Rousseau, Jean-Francois Arrighi, George Florovsky, Antonio Javierre, George Tavard and Maurice Villain are to be especially recommended. The French ecumenists seem over-all to have been the most candid and forthright in their answers and several of them were happily quite willing to recount the opposition which their earlier work encountered. Rousseau sums up their attitude pointedly enough: "Today it is fashionable to be ecumenical but then it was daring and one had to resign himself to a certain amount of abuse. But now the censures have been transformed into applause. It is the law of life." Of all these essays Maurice Villain's is perhaps the most noteworthy for its fiercely honest critique of the fortress mentality which dominated apologetic Catholicism in the pre-ecumenical period.

It is the personal touch which makes this book, where it is, resoundingly successful. This is an experiment which decidedly should be tried again but the editor should take care to underline the first question in red ink.

La Batarde

VIOLETTE LEDUC

Farrar, Straus, $6.95

CAROL JOHNSON

People who dislike themselves tend to give others excellent reasons for doing so as well, and yet a curious paradox of self-detestation is the boundless and tyrannical confidence in one's lovableness of which it is frequently the vehicle.

"Je suis un désert qui monologue," Mlle. Leduc has said. Her book is not the product of that consciousness which would make it a work of art. It is a staggering recitation of total recall. Relentless honesty is its medium—the sort of honesty available only to children, the analogue of innocence. With the possessive insistence and in the overblown prose of the very young, a woman in her fifties assails the reader with the account of a life so invincibly self-absorbed that even in retrospect self-understanding is occluded. The reader consequently has the persistent impression that the inferences he is led to make regarding the failed relationships recounted here are not the author's.

Despite the masochistic prominence of the term bastard ("A bastard must lie, a bastard is the fruit of evasion and lies, a bastard is an infringement of all the rules"), Mlle. Leduc does not really qualify as an unwanted child. One can imagine, in fact, many a non-bastard who would happily relinquish his status in that often most poisonous unit of society, the family, for her privileged condition. The meals alone, fabricated with loving skill by Fidéline,

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should have been an attractive summons to anyone from the land of the hot dog. Indulged by a warm and affectionate grandmother, spoiled perhaps but not rejected by a willful and doubtless unintelligent mother, Mlle. Leduc seems unaware of the extent to which her devotion for the latter appears in effect to be rivalry.

She is seduced by a classmate in a girls' boarding school. Although not a breath, not a creak of the mattress is forgotten, this episode is pathetic rather than salacious, enveloped in its cloud of schoolgirl prose. ("I was awakening to spring with a babble of lilacs under my skin.") One's only disconcerting impression is that it could so easily have been the other way round. Isabelle is almost at once replaced by the assistant music mistress for whose sacking Mlle. Leduc is to blame. Thus begins a series of alliances characterized—whether with women or men—by an imposing absence of reciprocity. Annihilation is so evidently her real desire that we are astonished at the staying power she evokes while relegating herself as well as her partners alternatively to objects. Hermine slaves away at her piano lessons, does the cooking, the sewing, the listening (a not inconsiderable task vis-à-vis this insomniac's unabating reminiscences), the blotting up or indeed the orchestration of tears, provides the Mumm's champagne and dresses from Schiaparelli and departs at last, after seven suffocating bourgeois years, on the occasion of suffering Mlle. Leduc's embraces before a voyeur in order that a lacquered coffee table might be procured with the profits. Subsequently, Mlle. Leduc's ambiguous (and, during Hermine's reign, secret) friendship with Gabriel becomes a marriage of awesome destructiveness. He too is forbidden sleep, is deceived with a vendor of toasted almonds, his child is refused, and he is left unattended in extreme illness while his wife retreats to the cinema the better to savor her misery.

Meanwhile, through her employment with a publisher, she discovers the power of the written word, not primarily as an agent of creation, but as a weapon for the subjugation of an absent audience and in the war of attrition against self. Maurice Sachs, surely the most interesting and admirable individual in this book, enters the narrative during this phase which coincides with the Occupation of France. He confers some order and sheds considerable light in pure charity on her chaotic and self-pitying existence. Even while "writhing on the hot coals of the impossible . . . expiating in his presence the joy of living beside him," she learned to suppress the orgies of melancholy which she understood bored him. Sachs takes her to live in a village in Normandy. Both are writing. They walk the country lanes in the autumn light, choose a house they would like to buy, partake of splendidly unrationed meals, attend—because everyone else does—Mass in the village church. Sachs leaves to meet his eventual death in a prison camp. Yet before this denouement she refuses to permit the return that could have saved him, having discovered the joys of self-sufficiency to be derived from black-marketing.

The author of this remarkable account lives quietly in the country now, prepared to write further books, having spared herself, her friends and her readers thus far nothing but the moral imagination that might have made this life and others less wasteful and worthier of the passionate generosity she has clearly aroused. Such a book reminds us that the human race is less convincingly differentiated along lines of gender than it is divided incompatibly between those who are capable of giving and those who can only take.

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REVIEWERS

DAVID CORT *is the author of several books, the latest of which is* Social Astonishments (*Macmillan*).

LAURA SCANLON *is getting her doctorate in English. She has reviewed for the* National Catholic Reporter.

DONALD P. GRAY *is a member of the Theology Department at Manhattan College.*

CAROL JOHNSON, *a poet and critic, is the author of the forthcoming* Reason's Double Agents (*North Carolina University Press*). *She is presently studying in Paris.*

CORRESPONDENCE

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(*Continued from page 683*)

The most important thing that impressed me about the situation in Delano was that the strike, which was called to win union recognition and collective bargaining rights for the farm laborers, was radically different from any of the farm labor strikes of the past.

Previously, the unions tried to pit the feeble efforts of their comparatively weak membership against the powerful financial interests controlling California's vast "factories in the field." Outfits like the giant di Georgio corporation or Schenley's, which have tremendous land holdings, can afford to let crops rot in areas affected by labor disputes and recoup their losses in other areas. On the other hand, farm laborers and their families do not have any financial resources to fall back upon because of the seasonal nature of their work. For them, it is simply a question of working or starving. So unless the union can provide strike benefits during prolonged labor disputes, the pro-union farm laborer is forced to move on and make out as best he can. This has been the pattern of the past.

In the current grape strike, however, Cesar Chavez and his National Farm Workers Association see collective bargaining as merely one aspect of the over-all problem. NFWA has, for example, established a credit union and consumer cooperatives. It has sought and obtained help from such civil rights organizations as SNCC and CORE. It is engaged in political action, trying to get all its members and their families qualified to vote. In short, it is endeavoring to develop a real community of interest among farm laborers.

When I was in Delano in December, I saw a semi-trailer full of frozen turkeys, donated by the United Auto Workers, being unloaded for the strikers and their families. I met students from the University of California and Stanford, who had given up part

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of their Christmas vacation to man picket lines. I talked to Catholic priests and Protestant ministers who were actively aiding the strikers because they sincerely felt that is what Christ would have done. I was edified by the example of a doctor from San Jose who spent six days at a clinic set up by the NFWA to treat strikers and their families. Malnutrition, he told me, was widespread among the children.

If this sort of activity is "agitation," all I can say is: we need more of it.

(REV.) VICTOR SALANDINI

St. John's

Perryville, Missouri

To the Editors: Since John Leo has cited me as a witness to Vincentian anti-intellectualism ("Strike at St. John's," January 28). I feel that some clarifications are in order without prejudice to the substantial accuracy of his citation. This is not the first time that my article has been used as a weapon in the St. John's dispute, but it is the first time that it has been in a magazine of national circulation.

The context of the article, as well as of the chapter of my book from which it was derived ("The Diocesan Priest and the Intellectual Life," COMMONWEAL, April 9, 1965), is the mentality of the Catholic Reformation, especially as manifested in the seventeenth century religious revival in France. The downgrading of intellectualism in favor of practical or spiritual ends, so great at times that it was anti-intellectual, is a common heritage of most religious communities which originated in that period. And certainly the whole tendency of the Catholic Reformation was in that same direction. What Justus George Lawler has called "pious pragmatism" is not the exclusive property of any one group in the Church or, for that matter, of any one historical period. My purpose was to show how this mentality, of which anti-intellectualism was only a part, influenced the seminary and contributed to many of the problems it faces today.

My reason for singling out the Vincentians *and* the Suplicians was that they brought to the seminary in France, to the clergy in Ireland, and hence to the United States, the attitudes and outlook of the French religious revival. It was not the only anti-intellectual influence in seminaries—I have been criticized for neglecting the Americanist and Modernist controversies. What I tried to trace as an influence in seminary training has been expanded into a general principle applicable to an entire community to help explain this particular crisis.

This trend may lie behind the difficulties at St. John's. I do not know if it does or to what extent, and I doubt if Mr. Leo knows either. The situation is far too complex for such simplistic explanations. My own knowledge of the situation is limited to secondary accounts which, as an historian, I have learned to distrust. Also, it lies within a different province of the Vincentian community, one with which I have had little personal contact.

What I have experienced, however, is a decade of teaching in Vincentian seminaries, both diocesan and our own house of formation. The situation that John Leo deplores did not exist in these seminaries. During that time I have had every encouragement in the direction of professional growth and scholarly research. If my response has been insufficient, it has been because of my own shortcomings and because of a common problem—diminishing manpower in the face of increasing demands. During this time also I feel that I have enjoyed admirable academic freedom, including the freedom to write critically of seminary training and of some traditions within my own community. Certainly my discussions with teachers in other schools have shown me that my academic life in the seminary has been free of much of the petty restrictions, aprioristic planning, paperwork, and stifling supervision that plague many schools. If I have not been pressured by the Publish or Perish syndrome, neither have I been deflected from my first purpose: teaching. I believe that the recent statement by the AAUP chapter at De Paul University indicates that this same thing can

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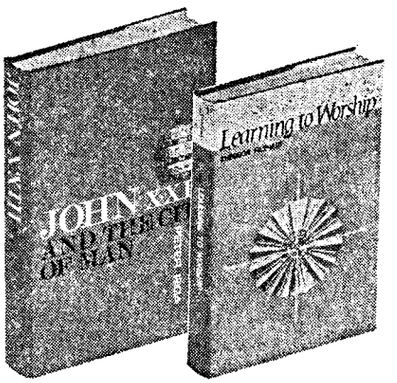

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and does exist in a Vincentian University. (Chicago *Sun-Times* and Chicago *Daily News*, January 20, 1966.)

The self-examination, adaptation, and forward outlook, not to mention the zeal and intense self-sacrifice, that I have encountered among my fellow Vincentians during the last few years would, I think, do credit to any comparable group in the Church and, I like to believe, surpass not a few. Mr. Leo has generalized, as is his right, from the St. John's strike and from my article, but the Vincentians, like the nation and the Church, do extend beyond the Hudson River.

(REV.) STAFFORD POOLE, C.M.

Declericalization?

Louisville, Ky.

To the Editors: In response to "William Doane Kelly's, "What Is a Catholic College," (January 28) I take exception to the statement that the immediate need of a Catholic college is declericalization. I say that the Catholic College in the U.S. needs more clerical domination.

In this day of Vatican II many of the clergy are becoming "sick and tired" of hearing "sour grapes" from some Catholic laymen. Some improvements and thoughts appear to be a "slap in the face" at the many clergy and religious who have given of their time and life to provide a Catholic education for the very laymen who are criticizing the clergy.

There appears to be a lack of knowledge about the clerical involvement in education. The very fact that many of the elementary, secondary and higher educational institutions are operated by clergy and religious is ample evidence that these are the people who have sacrificed themselves to maintain an educational opportunity for many who would not have been able to attend school otherwise.

Where were the laymen when these educational institutions were formed hundreds of years ago? Where were the laymen when the clergy and religious had to assume the position of college president, dean, principal, teacher? While many of the laymen are concerned with "keeping up with the Joneses" by buying the best in clothing, automobiles, houses, etc., and thereby supporting less the education of their own children, it is due to the sacrifices of the clergy and religious that their own children receive an education.

Mister Kelly says in his article that it would be an excellent idea "if a Catholic college were to appoint a man such as John Cogley president." I say, on the contrary, that if laymen want to be presidents of Catholic colleges then let them start their own colleges. Is it just or charitable for the Catholic layman to suggest that the religious and clergy would immediately step down from institutions which their predecessors have spent their lives in building? Is he willing to work for seventy-five dollars a month as some clergy and religious do? Or would he rather have his wife and family with other pleasures of modern living?

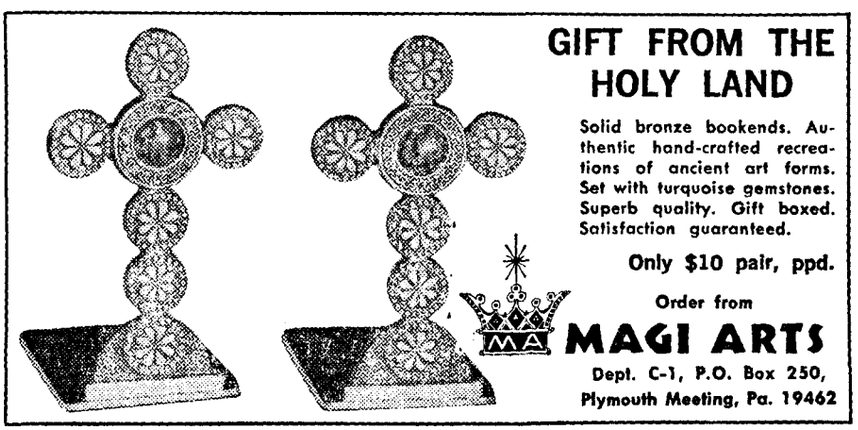
Mister Kelly says further that "if the college's prime concern is to have a biblical and theological core, it is essential that its president be able to provide leadership in this area." Since when does being a laymen provide a person with these qualifications? How many laymen have the biblical and theological background to be president of a Catholic college? Would not the transfer of the college presidency from the clergy to the laymen be a mere transferal and not a solution to the Catholic college problem?

The Catholic college of today needs men who are professionally trained in Scripture and theology. One of the reasons for the dearth of such trained men among the clergy is the fact that the clergy have been carrying the load of the laymen in all other sciences. Would not scriptural and theological sciences be more developed today if the clergy and religious had spent the last several hundred years in these disciplines and not in physics, chemistry, biology, etc.? . . .

With the present theological innovations, many clergy feel left out because most of their lives have been spent in teaching physics, math, etc., to someone else's children. They have not had the opportunity to study and teach the science which was to some degree responsible for their acceptance of the clerical profession. Why doesn't the layman turn about face and now help the clergy?

Mister Kelly intimates that a layman could give the theological orientation to the Catholic college. How? Does possession of a wife and children qualify a person in the theology which is necessary to make a Catholic college different? In the area of education where a clergyman and a layman are trained in a specific science, which of the two has a more solid theological background? It is the exception that the layman be trained also in theology, and consequently, it should also be the exception for the layman to be the president of a Catholic college.

The solution to the Catholic college problem in the area of being different is not in declericalization but in more clerical domination. By this is meant that the Catholic college should be operated by persons trained profession-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ally in theology, even members of religious communities. But as was said before, this professional theologian should also be trained in another specific science and give a theological appraisal of that particular science. In this way theology will be integrated with the sciences of the world.

Does this exclude the layman? Not necessarily, but most laymen will exclude themselves. By the very fact that a layman chooses to marry and raise a family he almost automatically excludes the possibility of professional training in both theology and another science. As a consequence the layman eliminates himself from holding the position which provides leadership in the area of theology and scripture as a college president. Catholic colleges today need to be more dominated by clergy trained professionally in theology and another discipline.

(REV.) OWEN J. POLLARD, OFM CONV.
Director, John XXIII Institute;
Assistant Professor of Theology,
Bellarmine College

Amish in Iowa

Rochester, N.Y.

To the Editors: The treatment which the Amish farmers of Iowa are receiving at the hands of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of that State is shocking to the conscience. Coverage by the respected Huntley-Brinkley television news broadcast a couple of weeks ago showed that these once-prosperous, frugal, and industrious farmers are being stripped of all but the barest essentials of life under a series of cumulative court fines that continue as long as they remain "in contempt" by keeping their children in their own non-accredited schools. Once property-owners with the security which that entails in our society, the best they can hope for hereafter is the status of small wage-earners and occasional welfare-beneficiaries unless the State relents in its resolve to make them conform, or unless they give up some long-held and practiced features of their religious persuasion.

Their tragic plight poses again the question of the proper limits of freedom and authority. It shows as well that totalitarianism is not a characteristic solely of dictatorships. Yet to my knowledge no one in the more enlightened part of the public press has expressed the slightest concern for them, questioned whether the methods of the Superintendent are justified, or remarked upon the tragedy.

LUCIEN E. SMART

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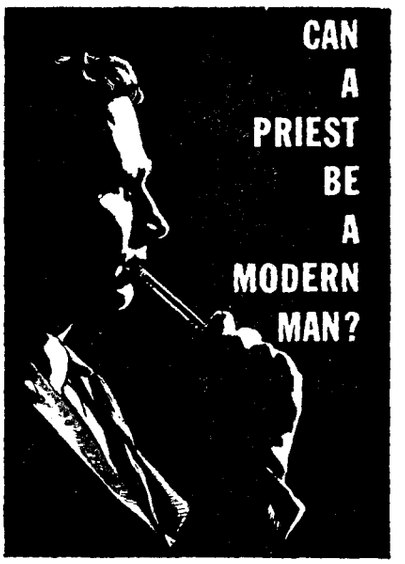

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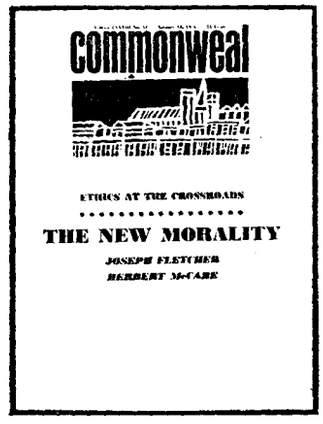

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